



# ANG Bayan

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS  
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG  
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-MAOISMO

Special Issue

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## Win the armed revolution in the 21st century!

*Message for the 31st Anniversary of the New People's Army*  
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**O**n behalf of the Communist Party the Philippines and the Filipino people, I salute the Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army for their revolutionary unity and their heroic struggles, sacrifices and victories in carrying forward the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We celebrate the great and glorious history of the New People's Army and we congratulate you for the current advances in the revolutionary struggle. You have increased and consolidated our armed strength and revolutionary mass base in the course of the Second Great Rectification Movement. You have won significant victories in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people and in launching tactical offensives against the enemy.

We are all happy that the NPA has rallied to the call of the Party to intensify the armed revolution and win complete victory in the 21st century. The NPA is well prepared to advance from victory to victory because of its cumulative experience and strength and because the crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system is ever worsening.

It is the sacred duty of the NPA to wage the protracted people's war for as long as there is the need to fight for national and social liberation against oppression and exploitation. The broad masses of the people aspire for the complete victory of the Philippine revolution.

We must defeat US imperialism and the local exploiting classes and complete the struggle for national liberation and democracy. From the victory of the new-democratic revolution, we shall proceed to the socialist revolution and further onward to communism.

### I. Great achievements of the New People's Army

The ongoing new-democratic revolution is a continuation of all previous revolutionary struggles of the Filipino people to liberate themselves from foreign and feudal domination. We continue the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy at a new and higher level.

The big difference between the old and the new democratic revolution is that the former was led by the nascent liberal bourgeoisie and the latter is led by the working class through its advanced detachment, the Communist Party of the Philippines, it is based on the worker-peasant alliance and it is aimed at laying the ground for the socialist revolution.

The leadership of the Party and the working class enables the Filipino people both to solve the land problem, which is the main problem of the democratic revolution,

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and to accomplish the new revolutionary tasks in the global era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Guided by the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Party has set the correct revolutionary class line, the general political line and the strategic line of protracted people's war. Thus, the NPA has advanced from the Katipunan and Philippine Revolutionary Army of the old democratic revolution.

The NPA has surpassed the Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon (People's Army against Japan) and the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (People's Liberation Army) because our Party since 1969 has clarified more than ever before the basic conditions, character, motive forces, enemies, stages and tasks of the Philippine revolution. We have cast away the revisionism and opportunism of the old communist and socialist merger party.

We have grasped the basic teachings of Comrade Mao on the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war under semicolonial and semifeudal conditions. At the same time, we have drawn lessons from our own experience and have contributed to the further development of the theory and practice of protracted people's war.

The NPA has become the most powerful revolutionary army in the entire history of the Filipino people. It has surpassed all previous revolutionary armies in the Philippines in terms of nationwide scope and being deeply rooted among the masses of workers and peasants. The Party has achieved the historic feat of building the New People's Army by relying on and trusting the masses and through hard work and arduous struggle under the principle of self-reliance.

From its small beginning of 60 fighters with nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms in the second district of Tarlac in 1969, the NPA now has a sum total of more than a score of battalions armed with high-powered weapons, augmented by tens of thousands of people in militia and self-defense units. From a mass base of 50,000 to 80,000 in 1969, we now have a mass base of millions in more than 80 guerrilla fronts spanning the entire length and breadth of the country.

The NPA has built its strength by conscientiously adhering to the mass line and valiantly fighting the enemy. It has become tested in so many battles and has overcome so many campaigns of suppression launched against it by the enemy. It has persevered and strengthened itself against such task forces of division strength as Task Force Lawin and Task Force Saranay from 1969 to 1972, a 14-year fascist dictatorship with national campaign plans of suppression, like Cadena de Amor and Oplan Katatagan, and the Aquino and Ramos regime's national campaign plans, Lambat Bitag I, II, III and IV.

The enemy flatters and fools himself when he claims falsely to have won a "strategic victory" under the US-Ramos regime and reduced the rifle strength of the NPA from 25,000 in 1985 to only 5,000 in 1992 as a result of the series of Oplan Lambat Bitag campaigns. The truth is that the NPA had only some 5,600 high-powered firearms in 1985, excluding

the inferior weapons in the hands of the militia and self-defense units.

It was neither one-sidedly nor principally the enemy campaigns of suppression that caused the conspicuous decline of the mass base and tactical offensives of the NPA from 1988 to 1991. It was principally the errors of revisionism and the "Left" opportunism pushed by the revisionist renegades and incorrigible opportunists that played into the hands of the enemy, until the Second Great Rectification Movement stopped these and started to prevail in 1992.

The NPA could not be destroyed even when Lambat Bitag, with its "forward deployment", "war of quick decision" and "gradual constriction" coincided with the grave "Left" and Right opportunist errors and the bloody witchhunts carried out by the renegades. That is because, no matter how highly placed, the revisionist renegades and incorrigible opportunists could not destroy the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist leadership of the Party and foundation of the NPA. They could not totally impose at one and the same

time on the entire Party and NPA their deviationist lines of "strategic counteroffensive", "Red Area-White Area line", "convergence theory" and various forms of insurrectionism.

The proletarian revolutionary cadres and the Red commanders and fighters have persevered in the strategic line of protracted people's war and carried out the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare. The growth of the NPA, from the beginning and during the fascist dictatorship, was due to small-unit guerrilla offensives and not due to the prematurely enlarged and overstaffed units, which were burdensome to and divorced from the masses and easy for the

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enemy to isolate and render passive.

The multiplication of guerrilla fronts, with the platoon as the relatively concentrated center of gravity, and the concomitant expansion and consolidation of the mass base were stunted or derailed wherever there was a premature formation of the absolutely concentrated companies and battalions and the consequent neglect of painstaking mass work and solid organizing among the masses.

The Second Great Rectification Movement has won resounding victory due to the resoluteness and militancy of the proletarian revolutionary cadres and the Red commanders and fighters. We have reoriented, reorganized and redeployed the NPA for mass work. When it is not in the offensive mode, even the platoon as center of gravity is not detached from the masses but has a smaller radius for conducting mass work than the smaller units deliberately deployed for mass work on a wider scale. Thus, we have recovered, expanded and consolidated the revolutionary mass base. Further on, we have steadily increased tactical offensives within our capabilities since 1996.

We have overcome the threats to the life of the Party, the people's army and the entire revolutionary mass movement previously posed by the incorrigible opportunists and revisionist renegades. The NPA has not only preserved itself but has also revitalized and further strengthened itself as the revolutionary army for winning the new-democratic and socialist revolution in the 21st century.

We have defeated not only the "Left" opportunists who undermined the NPA under the guise of speeding up victory but also the Right opportunists (including those who swung from "Left" to Right or posed as centrists) who

brazenly peddled reformism, revisionism and liquidationism. The worst of these revisionist renegades and incorrigible opportunists are now openly in the service of the counterrevolutionary state. They have found their political graveyard in the US-Estrada regime.

The "Left" and the Right opportunists used in common the wrong notion that the Philippines is no longer semifeudal in their futile attempt to draw the revolutionary movement away from the strategic line of protracted people's war and take recruits for the line of betrayal. They have been exposed as charlatans by the Second Great Rectification Movement and by the ever worsening semicolonial and semifuedal conditions.

The NPA has won significant victories in realizing the three integral components of people's war: armed struggle, land reform and mass base-building. All these are within the context of the new-democratic revolution. Even the enemy now publicly acknowledges the undeniable fact that the NPA has grown in strength among the masses and is in a position to deliver more lethal blows on his forces.

The NPA has won brilliant victories in tactical offensives on a nationwide scale, especially in Southern Tagalog, Central Visayas and Mindanao. The sum total of arms captured in all guerrilla fronts through ambuscades, raids and arrest operations is significant. We have captured a significant number of weapons from raids, often without firing a single shot, and from ambushes of varying scales.

We have been able to raid and capture a regional police headquarters and seize more than 80 high-powered rifles in Bohol. We have also captured high ranking military and police officers, including a general, and we have handled them well as prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Conventions and its protocols, unlike the reactionary armed forces and police that torture and murder captives from our side.

Our victorious tactical offensives are political manifestoes and have caught national and international attention. The people applaud them, while the enemy reacts in panic, spews out the wildest sort of propaganda and escalates bombardments, forced mass evacuations, food blockades, massacres, arbitrary arrests, torture and assassinations.

Since the beginning, the US-Estrada regime has been carrying out an undeclared martial rule, especially in the countryside. It launches brutal campaigns of suppression under the so-called Oplan Makabayan, a nationwide campaign plan. It has vowed to crush the revolutionary movement and has terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations to stress its counterrevolutionary line of all-out war against the people and the revolutionary forces.

But the Second Great Rectification Movement has prepared us well to fight even more fiercely and more effectively against the bankrupt and isolated regime. The Party has consolidated, revitalized and strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. The NPA has expanded and consolidated the revolutionary mass base in the countryside. The national united front is

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developing vigorously.

We have succeeded in advancing the people's war by carrying out land reform and doing painstaking mass work. We rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants, distinguishing the enlightened from the evil gentry in order to isolate the latter and destroy its power in the countryside. This antifeudal class line is carried out within the context of the national united front, which is revolutionary in character by virtue of the people's war as main component of the struggle under the current circumstances.

We are building the mass base on an unprecedented scale. We create and develop organs of political power and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, fishermen, women, youth, cultural activists and people from various walks of life. We launch mass campaigns to raise the educational and cultural level of the people, carry out land reform, improve the people's livelihood, promote health and public hygiene, train the militia and the people in self-defense, eliminate antisocial activities and replace unhealthy forms of entertainment with meaningful ones.

Even as the counterrevolutionary state of big compradors and landlords is still entrenched in the cities, we are already building the people's democratic government in the form of the local organs of political power, supported by mass organizations and the people in general, defended by the New People's Army and led by the Party. We have long acquired the status of belligerency under international law by virtue of our victories in people's war and we can gain international recognition of that status by winning greater victories.

Wave upon wave, we continue to expand the population and territory under the people's democratic government. More guerrilla fronts are being established to fill the gaps between priorly existing guerrilla fronts. The NPA is further gaining access to the urban areas and trunklines.

While the NPA concentrates on building and strengthening the guerrilla fronts in the countryside, the Party coordinates the revolutionary forces and mass struggles in the urban areas with those in the rural areas. It encourages and deploys workers and educated youth in the urban areas to serve in the people's army and in rural communities.

The broad masses of the people cherish the New People's Army, its Red commanders and fighters because they are fighting for the revolutionary cause against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. The revolutionary strength and prestige of the NPA will rise ever higher as all the forms of revolutionary struggle of the people surge forward.

By our perseverance and victories in people's war, the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines all enjoy high respect, prestige and support all over the world, among the people and forces fighting against

imperialism and for national liberation and socialism.

We have benefited from the long revolutionary experience and current struggles of the proletariat and people of the world and we have contributed significantly to the cause of world proletarian revolution. We are certain that

as we carry forward the torch of armed revolution, more oppressed peoples are bound to rise up in arms and make revolution amidst the worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation.

## II. Crisis of imperialism and proletarian revolution

As we enter the 21st century, the capitalist crisis of overproduction and new world disorder are worsening rapidly. The current conditions in the world are favorable for revolution and belie the claim of the imperialists that history cannot go any further than monopoly capitalism and their pretenses at liberal democracy.

The adoption of high technology drives and accelerates the overconcentration of productive and finance capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie. To extract higher profits and counter the tendency of profit rates to fall with the expansion of production, the monopoly bourgeoisie attacks the trade union and democratic rights of the workers, massacres regular jobs and replaces these with part-time and untenured jobs in order to press down wages.

With the US at the head, the imperialists have drummed up the myth of "free market" to rationalize the accelerating rates of exploitation of the working class in the imperialist countries and the people in the client countries. The monopoly bourgeoisie is unbridled in concentrating and centralizing capital in its hands under the slogans of privatization, liberalization and deregulation.

The imperialists and their lackeys depict the working people as parasites rather than as the producers of wealth. They blame the working people as the source of inflation and hindrance to economic growth. They press down the incomes of the working people to maximize profits. The bourgeois state casts away its social pretenses, increases the tax burden of the people and accelerates the delivery of public assets and funds to the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The result is the aggravation and

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deepening of the chronic crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system. The reduction of incomes of the people means the shrinkage of the market. The enterprises that lose in the competition either close down or become absorbed in bigger enterprises. The further concentration of capital leaves in its wake the destruction of productive forces.

The closure of firms, production cutbacks and mergers mean rising chronic mass unemployment and deteriorating wage and living conditions.

The financial crisis becomes conspicuous as the huge debts of losing enterprises and debtor countries are exposed. But new debts are incurred by the bourgeois state and the private firms to keep the capitalist economy running in the direction of further exploiting the people. To conjure the illusion of growth, the monopoly bourgeoisie does not only concentrate capital in its hands but also overvalues the assets through the workings of monopoly finance capital.

The imperialist countries are afflicted by the chronic crisis of overproduction and the related phenomena of chronic mass unemployment, erosion of hard-won social benefits and the rising chronic financial crisis of the state and private sectors. The economies of Japan and the European Union have become stagnant and unstable in comparison to the economy of the US.

The US is the strongest among the imperialist countries because it has the lead in high technology and is able to take advantage of its imperialist allies in investments and trade. Japan and the European Union themselves are attracted by higher rates of profit in the US and buoy up the US economy by buying US securities.

The biggest economic bubble has arisen in the US, with the flow of investments into high-tech stocks and the overvaluation of these. A crisis of overproduction is building up in computers, telecom and software, which are at the base of capital growth in the

US. The US boasts of high employment, which is characterized by part-time jobs replacing regular jobs.

The US continues to be pressed by the costs of winning the cold war and striving to maintain its all-round hegemony in the world capitalist system. It has a huge federal debt, as a result of high military spending and trade deficits to accommodate its allies. Its efforts to reduce its colossal public debt and trade deficits aggravate the crisis of overproduction at home and abroad.

The crisis of overproduction in imperialist countries has reached the point that the workers and the rest of the people have begun to launch strikes and mass protest actions against the state and the monopoly bourgeoisie. But insofar as it can still exploit the people of the world, the monopoly bourgeoisie can dampen the class struggle of the proletariat in the imperialist countries.

It is in the lesser industrial capitalist countries, including the much-weakened imperialist power Russia, that the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is relatively more vigorous. However, this struggle still lacks an effective leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party. At any rate, war has broken out in Europe, particularly in the Balkans and portions of the former Soviet Union.

The imperialist powers are united in oppressing and exploiting the people and are still led by US imperialism in this regard. But there are growing contradictions among them. These are bound to intensify upon the further worsening of the world crisis of overproduction. Trends show the sharpening of contradictions among the imperialist powers, between them and their client states, between them and the oppressed peoples and between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

It is in the nature of imperialism to generate economic crises and wars. So far, in the aftermath of the end of the cold war, the wars of aggression take the appearance of the imperialist powers uniting against what they call "rogue" states but really against the people of certain countries and entire regions as in the wars against Iraq and against Yugoslavia. Underlying these wars of aggression is the worsening crisis of overproduction which leads to the struggle among the imperialist powers themselves for a redivision of the world.

The weakness of Russia invites aggressive actions from the stronger imperialist powers. Thus, after the expansion of NATO to Eastern Europe, the US has launched a war of aggression against Yugoslavia in order to control the Balkans, tighten the encirclement of Russia, secure both sides of the Mediterranean and dictate the flow of oil from the Caucasus, Caspian Sea and Central Asia. The US has gone to the extent of promoting the armed resistance of the Chechens in order to foil any Russian-German plan to lay pipelines across Chechnya and towards Western Europe.

The overwhelming majority of the people of the world are in the semicolonial and semifuedal countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the retrogressive countries where revisionist regimes had betrayed

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socialism and restored capitalism for decades. They suffer the main brunt of the global crisis of overproduction. Their countries are the main arena of violent conflicts among the imperialists and reactionaries as well as those between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces.

Most of these countries have no more than raw materials for export. The terms of trade for such exports have continuously deteriorated since the late 1970s because of overproduction. A few of these countries export some manufactures and semimanufactures, which have also been in overproduction since the 1990s. Thus, all these countries are burdened by huge trade deficits and foreign debt.

The destruction of productive forces in all the aforementioned countries is horrific. Closure of export-oriented, agricultural and manufacturing enterprises, mass unemployment and the deterioration of wage and living conditions are widespread. There has been no recovery from the pre-1997 level of socioeconomic conditions which were already bad.

Under conditions of the chronic crisis of overproduction, the afflicted countries can only hope in vain to earn foreign exchange for debt service and consumer imports. They continue to produce raw materials and semimanufactures at ever lower prices or reduce their imports under a policy of austerity. Consequently, the global market of the imperialists for their own exports, such as structural steel, cars, consumer electronics, telecomm and so on also contracts.

The new world disorder is raging on a wide scale in countries which have nothing to export but raw materials. Reactionary cliques compete violently for power and use ethnocentric, religious and other reactionary slogans against each other. Civil wars characterized by massacres and massive displacement of people have spread, particularly in Africa which is the continent most devastated by the crisis of overproduction in raw materials since the late 1970s.

US imperialism and its allies are quick to intervene and launch wars of aggression, hypocritically invoking humanitarian and peacekeeping motives, only when oil resources are involved, as in the Middle East and the Balkans. The wars of aggression have also been used as the occasion for the US to display and use its high-tech weapons against the fixed establishments of its adversary states, including the civilian infrastructure, public utilities, economic enterprises, hospitals and schools, government buildings and mass media facilities.

With overweening arrogance, US imperialism uses both financial and military power to bamboozle its own imperialist allies, bully its neocolonial clients and blockade and threaten countries like Cuba and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that assert and defend national independence and the socialist aspirations of the people.

But US imperialism is strategically overextended more than ever before and is overdependent on expensive high-tech weapons. It retains its fear of incurring American

casualties in a ground war. At the same time, it weakens its own puppet states by imposing on them neocolonial and neoliberal policies that ruin them economically and financially and make them harsh and hated by the people.

Certain states which are vulnerable to US financial and military blackmail but which have resisted complete US domination, have amply demonstrated the limits of US imperialist power. Even the victims of US wars of aggression in the previous decade, like Iraq and Yugoslavia, have deterred or withstood the attempts of the US and its imperialist allies to overrun them. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba and Libya have so far prevented US imperialism from launching a war of aggression against them.

Aware of the limits of US imperialist power, the existing armed revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy are optimistic that in due course, they can defeat and overthrow the

puppet states in their own countries and that further armed revolutionary movements shall arise on an unprecedented scale in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the retrogressive countries previously run down by revisionist renegades and now neocolonies of US imperialism.

Armed revolutionary movements, based among the peasants and applying the strategic line of protracted people's war, render impotent the high-tech weapons of the US, as in the triumphant Vietnamese war of national liberation.

In Asia, the US relies on its own military power and its strategic security partnership with Japan in maintaining its hegemony. But in years and decades to come, Japan will be increasingly at odds with the

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US precisely as a result of current US impositions. Japan has its own imperialist character and ambitions. It is already reeling from the interimperialist economic competition and is bound to resist US impositions and increase its own initiative vis-à-vis other Asian countries.

The US continues to offend the peoples of Asia as it dictates upon its puppet states policies to further oppress and exploit the people. It knows no bounds for its interference in the internal affairs of the Asian countries and peoples. To push its hegemony, it meddles in such outstanding issues as the return of Taiwan to China, the reunification of Korea, Kashmir, Tibet and so on.

The US is the pioneer in the production and genocidal use of the atom bomb, as in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and owns the biggest stockpile of nuclear weapons. It wants to maintain overwhelming nuclear superiority for political blackmail and to retain the privilege of first use. Driven by its aggressive imperialist nature and hankering for nuclear monopoly, it demands that other countries give up their nuclear weapons.

The current of armed revolution is growing in Southeast Asia and South Asia. Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties are leading people's wars and are gaining strength in their respective countries. These parties light up the road of armed revolution in Asia as well as in other continents of the semicolonial and semifuedal countries.

The unprecedented destruction of productive forces and contraction of the world market that are going on will intensify all the basic contradictions in the world, such as those between imperialism and the oppressed peoples, among the imperialist powers and between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the imperialist countries. They can inspire other Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties to wage armed revolution.

The information technology that is further raising the social character of production and coming into conflict with monopoly capitalist ownership is available for quick communications in propaganda, armed operations and other activities of the revolutionary movements now and for socialist economic planning, production and cultural development in the future. The imperialists and their local reactionary lackeys are doomed. The revolutionary prospects of the proletariat and people of the world are bright. The new world disorder is becoming more and more turbulent and is the prelude to social revolution.

### **III. Rapid worsening of the rotten ruling system**

The rotten ruling system of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class is under severe strain from the global capitalist crisis of overproduction in all types of goods and from the US-dictated neoliberal "free market" policy of denationalization, investment and trade liberalization, privatization and deregulation.

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The chronic crisis of the ruling system is rapidly worsening in an all-round way. The economic and social crisis is inflicting extreme suffering on the broad masses of the people and inciting social unrest and armed revolution. The socioeconomic crisis has brought the political crisis to a level similar to that on the eve of the declaration of martial law under the Marcos regime.

The Philippines is dependent on the importation of equipment, fuel and semiprocessed components and does not produce capital goods. And increasingly all types of Philippine exports (agricultural and mineral raw materials and low value-added semimanufactures) are depressed by the global crisis of overproduction.

The Philippines has to produce more of the same kind of exports even at lower prices in the world market in order to earn foreign exchange or else cut down the importation of inputs for the production of export goods and thus earn less foreign exchange.

Even agricultural production for domestic consumption is being cut down by the rising costs of imported inputs and by the liberalized imports of food products, including rice, corn, sugar and meat. The land available for agriculture has also been reduced by the rapid accumulation of land in the hands of the few for real estate speculation although the bubble of private construction has burst.

Under conditions of the global overproduction of manufactures, such as cars, construction materials, consumer electronics and telecommunications, the exploiting classes have accelerated their conspicuous consumption and have intensified their exploitation of the working class and peasantry.

The foreign trade deficit has mounted from year to year and can be reduced only by austerity measures, production cutbacks and disemployment. The export of men and women for overseas contract work has been a far bigger foreign exchange earner than any export product. But it is now hemmed in by global economic crisis and by competing labor exports from other impoverished countries.

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rising interest payments on the old debt and by new debt to pay for the old debt and cover the ongoing trade deficit. Recent foreign loans have been used mainly to bail out the banking system. Japanese loans for public works has come in trickles and with strings attached. The foreign creditors are exacting more onerous terms. These include higher interest rates and shorter periods of payment and designated contractors and suppliers at higher prices.

The reactionary state incurs annually an ever higher level of local public debt and imposes a heavier tax burden and higher fees for public services on the broad masses of the people in order to cover the ever rising

budgetary deficit. Most of government spending is on debt service payment, military and police forces and bureaucratic corruption. Social security savings have been used to finance stock market and merger scams.

The US-Estrada regime claims that the country's gross domestic product (GDP) has grown from the level of last year. This is illusory. The GNP figure is bloated by guesstimates, counterproductive expenditures and understated estimates of the inflation rate. Even the regime admits that the economy is far from reaching the GNP level of 1997.

Because of the worsening socioeconomic crisis, the ground is decreasing for amicable mutual accommodation among the competing political factions of the exploiting classes. The ruling clique is more avaricious than ever and is more easily exposed. Political rivalry among the reactionaries is becoming more bitter and violent.

The rottenness of the reactionary state is conspicuously manifested by the flagrant corruption of Estrada, his several wives and children and their respective dummies and cronies who engage in all kinds of shady deals, involving contracts with the state, access to state financial institutions and business privileges. As in the years of the Marcos fascist regime, a monopolistic system of presidential pork barrel has replaced the relatively more extended system of congressional pork barrel.

The ascension of the Estrada ruling clique reflects an unprecedented deterioration of the economic and political system. The financial and political support of the Marcos family, the most notorious Marcos cronies and crime lords brought to power a president who was previously a popular movie actor but is a mentally unstable alcoholic. In so short a time, there is already a popular outcry for his ouster or forced resignation.

Because of the stench of its corruption and its growing isolation, the US-Estrada regime is vulnerable to a coup d'etat. There are several groups of military officers who wish to replace Estrada with his vice-president in keeping with the 1987 constitution of the reactionary state. They are unanimous in condemning Estrada for corruption, mental incompetence and favoritism for certain military and police officers who run criminal syndicates.

The coercive apparatuses of the state are riven by factionalism reflective of the splits among the reactionary politicians as well as criminal syndicates engaged in smuggling, gambling, drug traffic,

prostitution, extortion, kidnap-for-ransom, illegal logging and so on. The dominant military and police officers are the operatives of Estrada in the most lucrative criminal activities.

The current ruling clique mouths the platitudes of the "free market" dogma and believes that the all-out sale of national patrimony to foreign monopolies would make the Philippines "globally competitive". It is for this reason that the regime wants either the reactionary constitution to be amended or legislation to be undertaken to achieve the same results.

The regime is blatantly opposed to national industrialization. It does not even pretend to be for it, unlike previous regimes that misrepresented big comprador projects as flagship industrial development projects. It cynically cites as development and antipoverty projects casinos and other gambling ventures. It has allowed the infrastructure to deteriorate on a nationwide scale and dissipated public funds in a few showy public works projects amidst a disarray of similarly graft-ridden flimsy projects.

It encourages land accumulation by a few big comprador-landlords under its wings. It reclassifies the few token areas of land under the bogus land reform program of the reactionary government as nonagricultural in order to deliver these to landlords and real estate speculators. And it cynically tells the landless tillers that if they wish to own land all that they need to do is to buy the land at the going market price or buy shares of stock in agricultural corporations owned by the likes of Eduardo Cojuangco.

Under the "free market" slogan, the imperialists and the reactionary state abandon social pretenses. The political arrogance and greed of the exploiting classes know no bounds. These result in terrible suffering for the people and thus incite them to wage revolutionary struggle against the state.

The regime is increasingly unleashing open terror and is practicing an undeclared martial law even as it has severe financial difficulties in maintaining the army and

police. It has declared all-out war against the revolutionary movement and the people and in this connection has terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. At the same time, it is trying in vain to deceive the people by misrepresenting its scheme of localized surrender negotiations as the replacement of erstwhile peace negotiations.

To have cheaper cannon fodder than the military and police regulars, the regime is increasing personnel of the paramilitary forces by the tens of thousands. These are used as baits as well as shields by the regular forces when in patrols and offensives and are thus exposed to higher risks at lower pay. In addition, the regime is encouraging big compradors and landlords to organize private armed gangs. Military officers are also forming vigilante groups, death squads and pseudoreligious armed fanatical cults in addition to the official paramilitary units.

The neocolonial and neoliberal policy of denationalization, liberalization, privatization and deregulation is a brazen attack on the human rights (particularly the social, economic and cultural rights) of the people by the US imperialists and the puppet regime. It is the rationale for such rampant violations of civil and political liberties as arbitrary arrests, torture, extrajudicial killings, arson, looting, bombardments of communities, food blockades and forced mass evacuations.

In response to the escalating attacks on the people, the legal democratic mass movement has vigorously surged forward. Protests and demands have been raised on socioeconomic and political issues. Workers, peasants, women, youth, church people and other sectors of society have been conducting mass education and mass campaigns and protest actions according to their class and sectoral interests as well as according to their common interests against the ruling clique, the imperialists and the local exploiting classes.

The workers have campaigned against the labor flexibility policy, the massacre of regular jobs, the pressing down of wages,

casualization and short-term contractualization and the all-out attack on their basic rights. The peasants have clamored for land reform and have denounced all forms of aggravating the land problem and the rampant human rights violations, especially in the countryside.

The women have intensified their campaign against gender discrimination and oppression and for gender equality and the rights of working mothers and children. The student youth have conducted strikes against rising tuition fees and the suppression of student governments and campus press freedom. The youth in other sectors are rising up against the conditions of unemployment and all forms of exploitation and oppression.

The biggest nationwide mass protest actions have been conducted against the scheme to sell out the national sovereignty and national patrimony by constitutional amendment, against bureaucratic corruption, against low wages and union-busting and against the repeated oil price hikes and rising cost of living. To arouse and mobilize the people in their millions, the united front has been broadened to include as unstable allies conservative institutions and reactionaries opposed to the ruling clique. There is now a mounting campaign to force the resignation or ouster of the Estrada ruling clique.

The ruling clique is so isolated that it relies for crowd support on a "charismatic" religious organization and on entertainment shows by movie and TV personalities close to Estrada. To frustrate the tactics of the regime in this regard, progressive forces are developing a movement that harmonizes the national democratic line with the social concerns and aspirations of the ordinary clergy, lay leaders and the great mass of religious believers. They stage cultural shows and popularize songs and other cultural fare to raise the revolutionary spirit of the people against the regime and the ruling system.

Revolutionary armed resistance has expanded and grown in strength. The most formidable armies now fighting the enemy are the New People's Army and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. They have forged a formal alliance since late last year and have raised their cooperation and coordination to a new and higher level. There is firm mutual understanding that whenever the common enemy attacks one, the other takes action to relieve the ally by intensifying tactical offensives in its own areas.

Other forces fighting the enemy in Mindanao are the Islamic Command Council of the Moro National Liberation Front and the Al Harakatul Islamya (Abu Sayyaf). There is growing tension between the Moro National Liberation Front and the Manila government because of the latter's broken promises and its open suspicion that Moro integrants in the reactionary army are spies. A force of 1000

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MNLF fighters ran off with their rifles soon after these were issued to them last December.

The domestic ruling system of big compradors and landlords is rotten to the core and is in the process of disintegration. It can be destroyed and replaced by the people's democratic system only through protracted people's war along the line of the new-democratic revolution. The NPA performs the central task of fighting and defeating the military, police and paramilitary forces that seek to preserve the unjust ruling system.

#### **IV. Winning victory in the people's war**

We are confident of winning complete victory in the new democratic revolution in the early part of the 21st century. The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system is exceedingly favorable for the advance of the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary forces have accumulated experience and strength for carrying the revolutionary movement forward. The Second Great Rectification Movement has prepared the Party and the entire revolutionary movement for greater victories ahead.

The New People's Army must continue to play the crucial role of carrying out the principal form of struggle. This is to defeat the armed forces of the enemy and thereby overthrow the ruling system of the big compradors and landlords in order to establish the people's democratic government based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. Then, we shall be able to proceed to the socialist revolution.

The NPA is chiefly a fighting force for destroying the enemy. It must preserve itself, win battles and gain strength by integrating its military tasks with such other necessary and important tasks as propaganda, mass organizing and production. It must grow ever stronger as a political, military, economic and cultural force. It is a force for transforming the backward villages into the advanced political, military, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution. Thus, it is intimately linked with the masses in an all-round way.

The Communist Party of the Philippines must exercise absolute leadership over the NPA and ensure that revolutionary politics is in command. At every level, the leading organ of the Party must direct the corresponding command of the people's army. Party units within the people's army ensure that the mass line of trusting the masses and relying on them is upheld.

The people are the inexhaustible source of strength of the people's army. They participate in the revolutionary war, encourage their best sons and daughters to join the people's army and extend all possible support to it because it fights for their national and democratic rights and interests.

The semicolonial and semifeudal character of the ruling system requires the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. The strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside over a long period of time allows the people's army to avail of the widest possible social and physical terrain for maneuver to fight the enemy and

to grow from small to big and from weak to strong.

We must solve the main problem of the democratic revolution, which is the land problem. We must implement the minimum land reform program and eventually the maximum land reform program. Thus, the peasant masses will maintain their allegiance to the revolution and follow the leadership of the proletariat. The people's army must grow in stages in the process of revolutionary armed struggle. Currently, we are in the stage of the strategic defensive while the enemy is in the strategic offensive because of his vast superiority in equipment and trained military personnel. But we can and must change the balance of forces by carrying out only those tactical offensives that we are capable of winning against the enemy.

By accumulating strength from our successful tactical offensives, through extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare, we shall surely reach the stage of strategic

stalemate, when our strength shall be practically equal to the strength of the enemy. We shall finally be able to reach the stage of the strategic offensive when the enemy shall have been reduced to the position of strategic defensive.

We can only outline now the course of probability but we are certain that the increase of our strength and our advances shall be cumulative, unless we incur major errors or need to adjust the tactics and rate of advance in the event that foreign aggressor

troops come in. The possibility of foreign aggression is offset by the possibility that the imperialist powers are preoccupied elsewhere in the world.

The most effective way for the people's army to anticipate and frustrate the constant attempt of the enemy to concentrate his forces and destroy us in a guerrilla zone, a guerrilla front or a region is to keep on expanding and consolidating our mass base on a nationwide scale.

The strength of the enemy is not

limitless. In fact, it is overextended and spread out thinly. The crisis of the ruling system limits the military capability of the enemy. It is rapidly worsening and will further worsen if the enemy increases the personnel and equipment of the military, police and paramilitary forces. It is pertinent to know that the reactionary government is so bankrupt that the IMF has ordered it to slash personnel from the civil bureaucracy and to cut back expenditures for health, education and other social services.

The enemy can concentrate forces on some but never on all our existing guerrilla zones, guerrilla fronts and regions. We can launch more offensives where enemy forces have thinned out. And even where these are concentrated, we can adopt flexible tactics of tying them down by certain offensive actions or by trading space for time on varying scales.

The expansion and consolidation of the revolutionary mass base should enable us to fight a war of fluid movement and avoid any decisive engagement that puts to risk the entire armed strength of any guerrilla front. Thus, we constantly remind ourselves to conduct painstaking mass work in order to expand and consolidate our mass base and build the organs of political power.

To seize the initiative in launching tactical offensives, we must discover weak points of the enemy forces and we must also induce them to commit mistakes and lay bare their weak points. At the tactical level, we muster superior armed strength and use the element of surprise to attack the weak point of the enemy forces at the place and time that we choose. At the same time, we maintain vigilance and preempt the enemy forces from catching us in an isolated and passive position.

Only by constantly expanding and deepening our mass base can we carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare. We must avail of tactics of dispersal, concentration and shifting. We disperse to

do mass work. We concentrate the force to launch tactical offensives. We shift to evade the concentrated attack of a superior enemy force.

Even as we say that the enemy is strategically superior to us in military terms and that we must adopt the strategic defensive, we must maintain our strategic contempt for the enemy. Our revolutionary cause is just. The enemy is the despicable instrument of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes and he is far weaker now than ever before economically and politically. But we must always take him seriously at the tactical level.

### **THE ENEMY IS THE DESPICABLE INSTRUMENT OF US IMPERIALISM AND THE LOCAL EXPLOITING CLASSES AND HE IS FAR WEAKER NOW THAN EVER BEFORE ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY. BUT WE MUST ALWAYS TAKE HIM SERIOUSLY AT THE TACTICAL LEVEL.**

The NPA must accelerate the development of the armed struggle, the implementation of land reform and mass base building, i.e., building organs of political power and mass organizations in the countryside. The number of guerrilla fronts must further increase in order to cover the gap between existing ones. Under the direction of the regional Party committees, priorly existing guerrilla fronts must give birth to new guerrilla fronts and yield their relative surplus of personnel and arms for the purpose.

As we intensify our mass work and tactical offensives, the NPA must pay attention to politico-economic training, training of medical, munitions and communications personnel, intelligence gathering, production, health care, cultural work and enforcement of the tax policy of the people's democratic government. There can be functional specialization as well as rotation of cadres and personnel in the performance of tasks under the leadership of the Party.

We must carry out the basic tactical offensives for the purpose of seizing arms from the enemy and accumulating armed strength. For this purpose, the people's army relies mainly on the advance of mass work wave upon wave. There can be some instances when a commando unit of sufficient force can launch a tactical offensive away from the guerrilla front and has ample time and means to return to the guerrilla front. In all cases of tactical offensives, there must be a long-term build-up of intelligence and timely reconnaissance to ensure success.

We must also carry out from time to time some special offensives to punish the worst enemies of the people, the biggest human rights violators and plunderers, the traitors and other notorious criminals. The people have long demanded revolutionary justice with regard to these despicable elements. These elements must be prevented from further oppressing and exploiting the people, harming the revolutionary movement, enjoying the fruits of their crimes and running for offices in the reactionary elections.

The reactionaries stage elections to conjure the illusion of democracy. They use force and the power of money to exclude genuine representatives of the people. They practically insult the people by limiting their electoral choice only to their oppressors and exploiters. In response, the revolutionary movement applies tactics of the united front on the internal contradictions among the reactionaries, punishes or prevents from running as candidates the hostile elements and dispels the false illusion that reactionary elections constitute democracy.

The reactionary state is extremely dependent on foreign investments. We must undertake special tactical offensives to discourage these, particularly when the foreign enterprises ignore and violate the laws of the people's democratic government, are detrimental to the people, run counter to genuine economic development and are harmful to the environment.

We must discourage from entering the territory of the people's democratic government those agencies of the reactionary government and imperialist-funded private groups that engage in counterrevolutionary propaganda and schemes of corruption. At the same time, we distinguish the diehards from those willing to cooperate with us and we calibrate our acts of discouragement towards the former and our acts of persuasion towards the latter.

Our resolute response to the regime's declaration of all-out war and termination of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations is the intensification of people's war. We must do everything possible and necessary in both revolutionary armed struggle and united front work in order to render the enemy incapable of ruling the people and to isolate and destroy him.

The increasingly bitter conflicts among the reactionaries and the rising armed struggle of the Moro people for self-determination are favorable conditions for the growth in strength and advance of the NPA and all revolutionary forces.

As the regime concentrates its campaigns of suppression, on some regions of the NPA as well as the areas of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, it leaves out so many other areas open to our mass work and tactical offensives. Even in the few areas that the enemy forces choose to concentrate on, they leave so many gaps and expose their weak points.

In such areas, we must take the view that we have succeeded in luring the enemy forces in deep and we must deal them deadly blows by maneuvering to launch tactical offensives on exterior lines. In so many areas where the enemy forces have thinned out, we must launch tactical offensives as frequently as possible to relieve our comrades who are under concentrated enemy attack elsewhere. Over a long period of time, we must make the enemy bleed to death from countless wounds.

The arrogance of the US-Estrada regime is hitched to the military power of US imperialism, particularly to the US-RP Visiting Forces Agreement and related agreements. But US imperialism is a strategically overextended monster that is afraid of incurring American casualties in a ground war and is overdependent on high-tech weapons and on puppet mercenary troops. The strategy and tactics of US imperialism are impotent in the face of protracted people's war, as proven in China and Indochina in the past.

By the time that the revolutionary movement has gained enough strength as to drive the local reactionaries to beg for a US war of aggression, the NPA shall have gained the strength to inflict heavy casualties on US troops on the ground or the US shall have become preoccupied with people's wars and other forms of struggle in so

many other countries. By winning the armed revolution, we shall bring about a Philippines that is completely independent, democratic, just, progressive, peaceful and prosperous. We base our revolutionary aspirations on the self-reliant revolutionary struggle of the entire people while the new world disorder grows in turbulence and leads to revolutions elsewhere in the world.

It is our internationalist duty to persevere in the protracted people's war, intensify our tactical offensives and deal deadly blows on the enemy. Our revolutionary struggle and victories are our contribution to the world proletarian revolution and the broad anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world. We must reciprocate the inspiration and support that the proletariat and people abroad extend to us by their revolutionary struggles and victories. The fact that US imperialism has been able to dominate the Philippines for a century does not mean that it can continue to do so for another century or forever. It only means that we need

to fight even better until we can win complete victory. We must fight US imperialism in order to make it pay for its crimes of aggression, oppression and exploitation and lift the nation from the humiliation that it has suffered for so long.

The fact that US imperialism has won the Cold War, with modern revisionism doing the main job of destroying socialism from within, does not mean that monopoly capitalism is the end of history. It only means that we need to fight even better until we defeat imperialism so that we can build socialism. The ultimate aim is to defeat imperialism on a global scale and attain communism for the benefit of all mankind. **AB**